DOCUMENT RESUME

ED 270 282 RC 015 793

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TITLE Indian High School Dropout: A Perspective.

INSTITUTION Wisconsin Univ., Milwaukee. Midwest National Origin Desegregation Assistance Center.
PUB DATE Oct 85
NOTE 33p.
PUB TYPE Reports - Evaluative/Feasibility (142)

EDRS PRICE MF01/PC02 Plus Postage.
DESCRIPTORS *Acculturation; *American Indian Culture; American Indian Education; *American Indians; Cultural Context; Cultural Differences; Cultural Influences; *Culture Conflict; *Dropout Research; Dropouts; High Schools; High School Students; Qualitative Research; *Student Attitudes; Student Characteristics; Values
IDENTIFIERS Kluckholn Inventory; *Wisconsin (Milwaukee)

ABSTRACT

A research study of American Indian high school students and dropouts in the Milwaukee Public Schools explored cultural factors which affect Indian students' decisions to remain in or drop out of urban, middle-class American schools. Enculturation, i.e. acquisition of Indian culture, and its effect on acculturation, i.e. adopting traits of another culture, was investigated using Kluckhohn's theory of cultural value orientations variation. The origin and manifestation of values and attitudes of Indian students concerning school were explored. Intensive interviews focussed on general values/attitudes concerning peers, school curriculum, teachers, administration, and community; parental/familial influence; attitude toward dropping out; extent of enculturation; and social commitment to school and community. Students assimilated into American middle-class values regarding man and nature, time orientation, and relations with others were found to be more likely to finish high school than those enculturated into Native American values. Cultural perspectives of Native American students were examined as they related to classroom situations. Recommendations for educators of Native American students included employing counselors and teachers knowledgeable about Indian culture, community, and parents; incorporating Indian cultural values into the curriculum; and providing social/cultural outlets for students. References and recommended readings are appended. (LFL)

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INDIAN HIGH SCHOOL DROPOUT:

A PERSPECTIVE

by

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October 1985

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Indian High School Dropout: A Perspective

American public schools have a particularly unsuccessful track record of educating the urban Indian. It is well documented that the majority of Indians do not benefit from the public school experience and there are many theories set forth to explain why this situation exists. Although the research has led to limited success in the alleviation of the Indian dropout problem in some areas, the fact remains that Indians are the poorest of the poor — the worst educated, the worst clothed, the worst housed, and the most poorly nourished group in the nation (Muskrat, 1970; Chan & Hearn, 1970).

Purpose and Focus:

The purpose of this paper is to discuss the cultural factors which directly affect Indian students' decisions to remain in or drop out of urban, middle-class dominated American high schools. A basic question is: What happens to Native American students in public schools? To address this issue, the author reports here the findings of a research study which she conducted with Native American children in the Milwaukee Public Schools.

The Indian dropout rate from Milwaukee Public Schools is the highest of all minorities. In 1982-1983, 18.6% of the Indian students enrolled in the Milwaukee Public School system discontinued their high school education. That is nearly one student out of every five in only one year! Two clusters of subquestions served as the focus of this research study. The first was, to what extent has Indian enculturation transpired, if at all, and how may that have affected the Indian child's acculturation into mainstream society? Enculturation is used here to mean the process by which a culture is acquired by children and becomes part of their thought and behavior. Acculturation, on the other hand, refers to one culture

adopting traits of another culture (Downs, 1973). The second central cluster of questions addressed was, where do the values and attitudes acquired by Indian children concerning schooling originate and how and when do they manifest themselves?

Considering the disproportionately high Native American dropout rate, one can reasonably assume that certain culturally-based Indian characteristics exist that clash with the urban public school environment. In this study of the Indian dropout in the Milwaukee Public Schools, the cultural conflicts existing between the Native American student and the urban school environment were examined. The author combined insights of Indian cultures with specific elements of personality to better understand how Indian students interact with their bicultural existence as it relates to education in general and, specifically, to dropping out of school.

This study included not only the "dropout" but the "stay-in" as well. Reasons for staying in school as well as those reasons given for leaving school were investigated. This was accomplished in part by: reviewing high school records (e.g., attendance records, grade point averages, any notation of punitive actions, etc.), investigating the participants' neighborhood and home, and observing the participants in the classroom setting. When possible, the participants' parents, peers, siblings, and teachers were interviewed.

In light of the available research, it has been found that schooling is failing to meet the needs of Indians. There is widespread dissatisfaction with attempts to remedy this situation. It is generally believed that the public schools are still falling far short of their goal to prepare the Indian to participate effectively in American society (Antell, 1974). Some theorists attribute the problem to lack of motivation, the inadequacies of the teachers, the Indians' shyness or laziness, chronic

absenteeism, poverty, or mental deficiency. The concern of this paper is with what "being Indian" means and in what ways does being Indian culturally manifest itself, especially in the public school setting. Why is the Indian high school dropout rate disproportionately high? What causes Indians to drop out? What are some characteristics of the Indian dropout? A clearer understanding of the problem must be sought and positive actions must be taken soon. "Indian people have been badly miseducated, have not progressed educationally, and as a result are at the bottom of the barrel among the country's minorities and socioeconomically disadvantaged groups" (Coombs, 1970). The ramifications of deficient education are obvious: it guarantees the continuation of abject poverty and the demise of our Indian people — a grim commentary on this Nation's unfulfilled responsibility to its people.

The Dropout:

The term dropout usually designates a pupil who has been enrolled in school during the regular school year, and who leaves school before graduation from secondary school, or before the minimum required amount of school work necessary for graduation has been completed. Generally, the term refers to withdrawal between either the eighth or ninth grade (varies from state to state) and high school graduation (Lee, 1972). According to Wisconsin's Department of Public Instruction, dropouts are defined as those who leave school for military service, pregnancy/child rearing, marriage, employment, to prepare for a general equivalency diploma, or for unknown reasons. Students who leave after age 16 with parental permission are also considered dropouts (Russell, 1984).

Studies do not agree on the number of dropouts in the American public school population. The reasons for disagreement are to be found not only in varying definitions of "dropout", but also in the various methods of calculating the number and percentages of dropouts, and the wide variances

in types of schools and the composition of the community. Data are particularly difficult to identify at the national level. There is no single national Federal organization that accumulates and organizes such information that is reliable and comparable among states. National information on the attainment of education is collected by the U.S. Census Bureau and the U.S. Department of Education. However, these two agencies collect different information and each uses different sources and techniques. What is significant, however, and the literature corroborates, is that inner city schools are attended mostly by minorities and therefore the inner city dropout rate is ofter generally comparable to the minority dropout rate (Haynes & Page, 1979). There are, however, significant differences between and among minorities with respect to drop-out rate.

Because Indian children are enrolled in several types of schools, and various regional methods of organizing and calculating data are used, it is very difficult to secure comparable dropout figures. Estimates of Indian dropout vary according to region; nevertheless, there is overwhelming and consistent evidence that Indian students maintain the distinction of having the highest dropout rate according to nearly every study, regardless of region, ethnic composition, or methods of calculation (Coombs, 1970; Minnesota Department of Education, 1981).

The Consequences

Dropping out of high school generally results in high unemployment and relatively low earnings. There is substantial research which suggests that dropouts are more likely to require public assistance (Kaplan & Luck, 1977). Dropouts' estimated earning losses are in the billions of dollars. The dropout will earn considerably less than the high school graduate because of educational deficiencies. In this context, the federal, state and local governments will forego billions in potential revenue. Increased

welfare expenditures will be needed to subsidize or even support the drop-out, directly or indirectly, through employment, training and placement programs. Also, the typical high school dropout participates minimally in politics, if at all. (Mahood, 1981)

The loss suffered is not only personal, but is manifested societally — ranging from increased welfare burdens to incalculable, untapped human potential. An apathetic dominant society has consequently left behind a group of people who have not only been actively excluded from the dominant culture but who frequently elect to exclude themselves to one degree or another, thereby exacerbating the situation.

Perhaps the gravest consequence of this quagmire, however, is the perpetuation of a state of dependency for the Native American. There existed in early American history, the distinction between "ward" Indians and "citizen" Indians. The former were considered eligible for Federal assistance, the latter were not. The presumption was that all Indians who resided permanently away from the tribe were competent to manage their affairs without Federal assistance. Today, the distinction is still made (i.e., judicial decisions and statutes) concerning Indians' eligibility for and entitlement to Federal assistance and where they permanently reside. It evolves from the idea that common property and civilization cannot coexist (Officer, 1971). Once off the reservation and residing in an urban environment, the Indian generally is considered assimilated into mainstream society by the public at large. However, despite the use of English, or the adoption of dress or religion, there is not necessarily a "parallel psychological shift" (Anastasi, 1968). The adjustments of shifts in fact seem superficial in light of the current state of affairs. Upon a more thoughtful investigation of the Indians' culture, one begins to see some of the unrelenting, incompatible cultural conflicts between white and Indian values.

The full psychological impact of the cultural conflict of values and its consequences is not apparent until the later levels of schooling. Research indicates a negative correlation between years spent in school and academic achievement (Senate Subcommittee, 1969; Bryde, 1969; Wax, 1967), that is, the achievement of Indian children declines every year they're in school. Indian children usually test at average to slightly above average levels upon entering school. As the child becomes increasingly aware of cultural and racial differences, he falls progressively below grade level norms. When the adolescent Indian internalizes his/her differences, feelings of inferiority and hopelessness corrode and disintegrate once-held dreams for a positive future. Few Indian children are able to cope with this culture conflict long enough to achieve graduation. The Indians' eventual reaction to this cultural differentiation often manifests itself as alienation, poor self-image, withdrawal and, in a word, "dropout".

The consequences of factors such as those cited above were most recently documented by the National Adult Indian Education Survey (1981) conducted by National Indian Management, Inc. The survey involved a national home interview study of over 4,000 adult Indians selected at random. The results placed the adult Indians' median examination score lower than that found among any other ethnic or racial group which had not recently immigrated to the United States. Few Indians ever attend college and only 57% have a high school diploma or its equivalent. Literacy, as measured by reading, writing, and arithmetic indexes of the Adult Performance Inventory (API), revealed scores comparable to those from underdeveloped nations. This situation has left behind one million Indians and "certainly is an indictment of the cumulative effects of social differentiation and of a social and political system that would allow this condition to exist" (Brod & McQuiston, 1983, p.8). The American dream is allegedly one of opportunity regardless of ethnic or racial differences. However, the reality of

this dream is in fact measurably less for those "of color":

> The cold statistics illuminate a national tragedy and a national disgrace. They demonstrate that the 'first American' has become the 'last American' in terms of an opportunity for employment, education, a decent income, and the chance for a full and rewarding life (United Senate Subcommittee on Labor and Welfare, 1969, p.3).

The fact remains, in spite of all the problems associated with educating Indians that the majority of school-aged Indians are enrolled in public schools. And there is overwhelming evidence that public schools have consistently instituted programs and sanctioned a prevailing attitude that has contributed to the demise and consequent state of affairs for the Native American—truly, a national tragedy.

Two Major Considerations:

The complexity of educating the Indian is overwhelming. One has to be concerned with at least two major areas: 1) the degree of acculturation; and 2) the immense cultural diversity that exists even within the society of urban Indians.

Indians historically have resisted learning standard English and integrating their cultural traditions into the dominant white culture at the rate of or to the extent of other ethnic or racial minorities:

> Indians today are, indeed, greatly different from what they once were. They have adopted many of the cultural traits brought by the invaders, and have participated in further changes and evolutions of the national societies in which they are located. Yet there remains what is often termed, 'the Indian Problem' and an enduring image of an unchanging Indian. The Indian appears to be a problem because he does not change—at least, not in the way and at the rate they think he should (Wax, 1971, p.177).

Most minorities in this country have historically been excluded at one point or another and for some period of time. The major difference with Indians is that they, more than any other minority group, resisted inclusion to varying degrees for generation after generation, thereby perpetuating and exacerbating the cultural problem of educating Native American children.

Wisconsin's Indian population is the fifth largest east of the Mississippi River. There are approximately 30,000 Indians in Wisconsin (1980 Census of Population) which includes seven tribes: Potawatomi, Oneida, Winnebago, Menominee, Ojibway, Brothertons, Stockbridge-Munsee and six bands of Ojibway (or Chippewa): Bad River, Lac Court Oreilles, Lac du Flambeau, Mole Lake, Red Cliff, St. Croix, and assorted remnants of several other groups (e.g., Sauk, Fox). Often these groups are culturally and/or linguistically related and there are some common values. However, the point has to be made that as an ethnic group, there is no such thing as and "American" Indian except as a stereotype created by ignorance and reinforced by Hollywood, textbooks, and the media. Due in part to variations in their particular historical development, each tribe and band has culturally-based preferences and this exacerbates the overall complexity of educating the Indian.

The Milwaukee Public School Study

This study involved eight case studies of high school Indian students enrolled in the Milwaukee Public Schools with an academic achievement record of "C" or above as well as Indian high school dropouts. All enrolled high school students in this study had junior or senior status and were 17 or 18 years of age. The high school dropouts were up to 20 years of age. Participants were volunteers and were divided equally between male and female. Tribal affiliation was limited to those tribes residing in Wisconsin and only those students legally identified as Indian by the State of Wisconsin were involved in this study. The "intensive interview" method was used.

For both the enrolled Indian high school student and the Indian high school dropout, the interview was organized to specifically focus on:

1. General values/attitudes concerning peers (in school and out of school), school curriculum, teachers, administration, and the community, both non-Indian and Indian.
2. Parental/familial influence from the interviewee's perspective; the participant's current attitude concerning dropping out.
3. The extent of enculturation and how that manifested itself within the school environment.
4. Social commitment to the school and social commitment to the community.

Theory of Variability

An adapted version of Kluckhohn's (1960) theory of cultural value orientations variation was used to determine the extent that the students in this study were enculturated into the Native American culture and to what extent they had been assimilated into American middle class culture.

Adapted Version of Kluckhohn's Value Orientations and Range of Variations for Each - Table 1

Orientation	Range of Variations		
Man-Nature	Subjugation-to-Nature	Harmony-with-Nature	Mastery-over-Nature
Time	Past	Present	Future
Relational	Lineality	Collaterality	Individualism

(Kluckhohn, 1960, p.12)

Kluckhohn defines value orientation as "evaluative principles inclusive of both cognitive and affective elements which give order and direction to human acts and thoughts in the solution of human problems" (pp. 5, 6). Kluckhohn's theory of variability is based on areas common to all

human groups. Presented in question form, Kluckhohn asked the following:

1. What is the relationship of man to nature? (Man-Nature Orientation)
2. What is the temporal focus of human life? (Time Orientation)
3. What is the modality of man's relationship to other men? (Relational Orientation) (p.11)

Kluckhohn states that there is definite variability within the range of possible solutions to problems for which all people must find solutions. These cultural variances play a critical part in understanding and assessing the cross-cultural dilemma facing the urban Indian in mainstream society today.

Operational definitions of the terms appearing in the cells of Table 1, as developed by Kluckhohn are presented as follows:

Man-Nature-Orientation-Subjugation-to Nature/Harmony-with-Nature/Mastery-over-Nature:

If the conceptualization of the man-nature relationship is one of harmony-with nature, there is no separation of man, nature and the super-natural. One's concept of wholeness is derived from the mutual, respectful interdependency of these entities. In contrast, the dominant orientation of most mainstream Americans is mastery-over-nature. The mainstream concept is that all natural forces are to be overcome and made useful for human beings (e.g. bridges built to span rivers, roads through mountains, man-made lakes). The general view is that it is man's right, even his duty, to overcome the natural world. Mainstream society's enthusiasm for technology is an outgrowth of this orientation. Subjugation to nature indicates an acceptance of the way things are and will be. In this orientation, man is powerless to do anything against nature; he believes that "what will be, will be".

Native American Value Orientation	American Middle-Class Value Orientation
No real separation of man and nature, one is an extension of the other.	Natural forces are used for human good. Science can overcome. The Lord helps those who help themselves.

(Kluckhohn, p.13)

Time Orientation--Past/Present/Future

Most cultures deal with past, present, and future. There is an order of importance/rank-order emphasis that differs in the Indian orientation and the American middle-class orientation. Members of the mainstream society, more strongly than most people in the world, place an emphasis on the future. Past ways are not preferred simply because they are past and few truly middle-class Americans are content with the present. The result is a high priority for change, called progress. One of the biggest differences between the United States and England is that Americans have difficulty understanding the English respect for tradition and the English do not appreciate the typical American's disregard for tradition.

Native American Value Orientation	American Middle-Class Value Orientation
Today is most important, yesterday is gone and without today, there will be no tomorrow. Immediate goals distinct, yet long-range goals ambiguous.	Plan for the future. How to get ahead. The end justifies the means. Long-range goals are distinct and thinkable.

(pp.13-15)

Relational-Lineality/Collaterality/Individualism

This orientation is the view that man has toward his relationship with other men. It must be noted that all cultures contain certain elements of all three possibilities, yet due to their ranking emphasis, one emphasis prevails over the others. When the lineality principle prevails, group goals are primary, yet within this goal, the utmost importance is placed on maintaining the continuity of the group. The ordered positional succession

becomes a primary issue. The aristocracy in England is an example of the lineality relational orientation. Group goals are important, yet the goals will be met through the proper succession of the ordered ruling class. If a culture ranks collaterality as most important, the goals of the group again are primary and, although the people within the culture share the same major goals, there is a great deal of latitude in the roles that individuals may occupy in accomplishing these goals. The individual's actions are responsible for the success or failure of the society. There remains a great deal of autonomy for individuals within the confines of what is best for the extended group. In the society that places emphasis on the individual, group goals are secondary to the goals set by the individual. One may function within a group and help accomplish group goals, yet the primary interest is the accomplishment of personal goals rather than the goals of a group.

Native American Value Orientation	American Middle-Class Value Orientation
Individual is not human except as he/she is part of the social order.	Will participate in group goals only as long as personal goals are not jeopardized.
Extended family and its goals are primary.	
Autonomy, but always working for the welfare of the extended family.	

(pp. 16-19)

Although there are value variations within whole societies due to variations of subgroups and of individuals, there is a "systematic variation" which limits this. These variations are both "required" and "necessary" in the classification of cultures according to value orientation rank ordering. Using an adapted version of Kluckhohn's value orientation, it is possible to determine the degree of relative assimilation of Indian subjects into the middle-class American value orientations.

Table II
Native American
Rank Orderings

Orientation	Rank Orderings
Man-Nature	Harmony-with
Time	Present
Relational	Collaterality

Table III
American Middle-Class
Rank Orderings

Orientation	Rank Orderings
Man-Nature	Mastery-over
Time	Future
Relational	Individualism

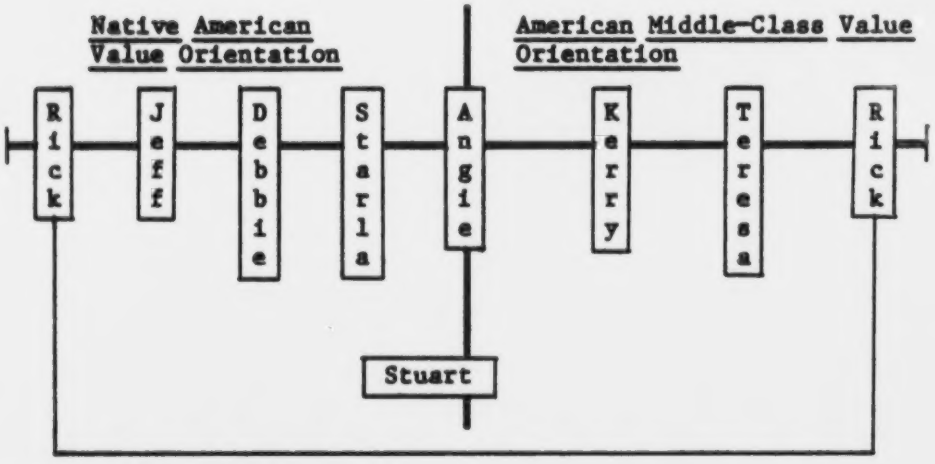
(Adapted from Table 1:1, p.12, and Table 11:1, p.75)

Participant's Relative Position

The analysis of ethnographic data for the Indian subjects in this study, using Kluckhohn's basic value orientations conceptual frame of reference, resulted in a mapping of their value orientations. Based on the researcher's evaluation of the interviews, paralinguistic behavior, and other ethnographic data, each subject was assigned a relative position on a Value Orientation Continuum. Examination of the continuum reveals that three of the four dropouts (Jeff, Debbie, and Starla) were placed on the Native American Value Orientations part of the continuum. Angie appeared to possess the value orientations of both the Native American and the American middle-class. Therefore, she was placed on the part of the continuum occupied by Indian dropouts and marginal students. Such a placement is not to suggest biculturalism. Rather, she is unsure, stranded between two worlds, and thus she places between the two value orientations, toward the center. There was insufficient information and evidence to adequately evaluate Stuart and determine his value orientation. Rick was capable of moving from one set of cultural value orientations to another as the need arose. He appeared to have successfully integrated himself socially and academically in the public school milieu while maintaining an intimate relationship with his extended family on the reservation. Therefore,

misconstrued as being "culturally stranded," he is placed at both ends of the continuum, indicating his ability to adapt to both sets of value orientations. Two students, Teresa and Kerry, were found to possess strong American middle-class value orientation and were placed accordingly (See Figure I).

Value Orientation Continuum
Figure I

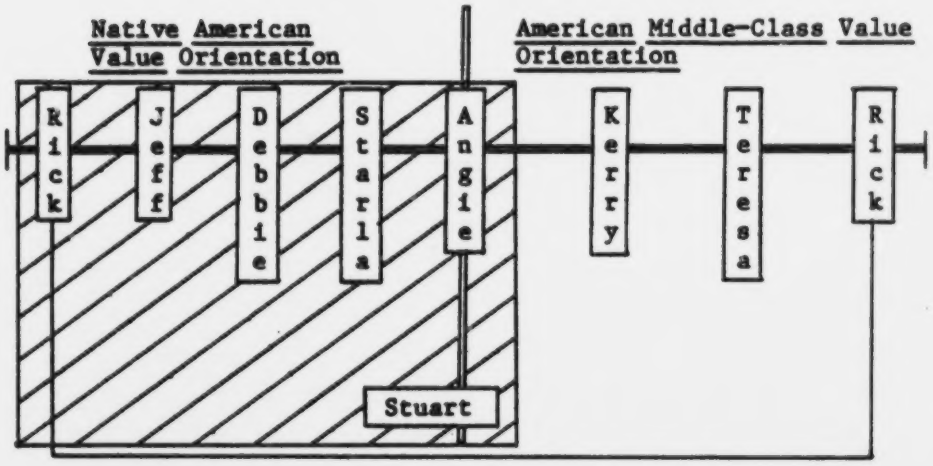


The Hypothesis - The Analyses

It was hypothesized in this study that if a student were determined to embody the Native American value orientation, as defined by Kluckhohn's criteria, they would have a high probability of dropping out of high school and becoming part of the 18.6% Indian high school dropout data in this study.

After analyzing the testimony and behavior of the subjects within the cultural value orientations conceptual frame of reference, it was evident that the more assimilated an Indian student is into the American middle-class value orientation, the more likely that person is to complete high school. Conversely, it was evident that the more enculturated an Indian student is into the Native American value orientation, the more likely he/she was to drop out of high school (See Figure II).

Value Orientation Continuum
Figure II



Shaded Area Represents Native American Dropouts and Marginal Students

One obvious problem with the educational system is that too often educational practices and policies assume there is cultural similarity shared in the developmental sequence in the preschool enculturation process for all children (Philips, 1983). This study of Indian high school drop-outs in the Milwaukee Public School System is not generalizable to all public schools. However, this study and the literature confirm that cultural diversity and alternative world views within America are actually far greater than yet acknowledged. Furthermore, the reader is cautioned not to assume that the model used in this study has wide generalizability as an absolute indicator for drop-out probability. No single individual or group consistently fits into any set pattern. The model has certain implications with respect to the drop-out phenomenon, but was never intended to be a definitive indicator.

Cultural Perspectives of the Native American Student

Non-Verbal Communication

In traditional public school classrooms, children are expected to master curriculum presented by the teacher and socially appropriate uses of communication (verbal and non-verbal). However, there are overwhelming ongoing non-verbal misconceptions and miscommunications which are due to the Indian child's socialization. Indian children frequently communicate non-verbally in a foreign language, to varying degrees. This conflict continues into and throughout adult life.

Anthropologists and linguists have given considerable attention to relationships between language and culture. However, cross-cultural non-verbal and paralinguistic behavior has been relatively neglected. Non-verbal behavior is culturally learned and although experts disagree on what percentage of communication is actually non-verbal, the range is usually positioned at between 70 and 90 percent (Birdwhistell, 1970; Peñalosa, 1981).

Non-verbal behavior serves three basic functions:

1. Conveys information about emotional states via body positioning, facial expressions and gestures.
2. Provides social information about oneself through dress and appearance (gender and ethnicity).
3. Facilitates the regulation of talk. That is, for a message to be successfully sent, it is crucial that the speaker get the attention of the hearer and that the hearer recognize they are being addressed (Philips, 1983; Peñalosa, 1981).

Aaron Wolfgang (1977) said "It is not what you say that is important but how you 'look' and 'act' when you say it." He also said non-verbal behavior is largely culturally determined and usually operates below the awareness level. Wolfgang divided non-verbal behavior into paralinguistic

(voice tone, pauses, hesitations, etc.), proxemics (how individuals space in relation to objects and each other), and kinesics (facial expressions, gestures, posture, head nods).

Indian Communication

Indian children bring distinctive communication skills (verbal and non-verbal) to the public school classroom that are different from those of their non-Indian teachers, peers and other inhabitants of the urban school environment in general. Again, it is critical that educators determine the cultural origin of the student and some idea of their degree of assimilation/enculturation.

In Indian verbal presentations, high value is placed on the appearance of calmness, evidence of knowledge, eloquence, and the aura that great forethought has been given before speaking. In most cases, Indian people do not talk as loudly as whites and they speak at a slower pace with fewer false starts and rephrasings. Nor do they utilize changes or variations in voice loudness to attract attention as whites do. It is common for Anglos to designate the individual they wish to speak to (or is speaking to) by gazing at them. Indians also face those they are addressing, but not as directly (in the face or the eyes). Indian speakers do not usually make speaker-specific movements as exaggeratedly as Anglos do and visual attention to detail is emphasized (e.g., long-distance scanning). Anglo interjection into conversation (yesses and mm hummmm) from listeners at appropriate intervals and head nods are much less common with Indians (Philips, 1983, pp.45-52; Spindler, 1963, pp.351-399).

Fewer Indian students, as compared to non-Indian students, raise their hands to be called upon and they do not verbally beg to be called upon even when they know the answer. For the Indian student, getting the floor in the classroom by such Anglo means requires them to behave in ways counter to socially appropriate behavior according to Indian ways. Also, an imme-

diate response in Indian interaction is often neither possible nor valued. There may be long delays, pauses between speakers' turns at talking. Again, the emphasis is placed on control, eloquence, forethought and even whether to speak at all. Indian speakers tend to control the end of their own turns; they are not interrupted by others. Whereas Anglo interaction is characterized by interruption of speakers; the ends of their turns are frequently determined by others' intrusions. Indian children are not accustomed to talk that "requires" that they respond and respond quickly. And public school teachers do not usually function within a framework that allows for long pauses between speakers, that is, if the student decides to talk at all (p.109).

Indian Enculturation

Indian children spend more time, as do Indian adults, with others than is true of Anglos. Thus, Indian infants are taken out in public earlier (as early as two weeks old) and for longer periods of time. To induce sleep, the Indian baby is often placed horizontally and covered when the baby is wide awake to cut off all visual stimulation, while auditory stimulation continues. Anglo babies are more commonly isolated auditorily but continue to be bombarded visually. Older Indian children engage in more intentional learning through watching adults cook, sew, chop wood, etc., than Anglo children do. There is considerably less verbal explanation before a child attempts some skill than in Anglo families. The Indian child learns through observation. Auditory messages are not ignored or neglected in the socialization of the Indian child, they are just used differently (Philips, pp.63-68).

Indian babies are not usually tickled to make them gurgle or squeal which coincides with the idea of maintenance of calmness and control. Squeezing, hugging, and kissing is relatively uncommon; that is, as compared to Anglos. However, Indian children are held more and passed around

from one relative to another. Frequently, older children move around and live with different relatives (Spindler, 1963; Philips, 1983; Wax, 1967).

Indian social control is a system where the individuals are encouraged to control their own activity but not to attempt to control actions of others. A major influence on Indian childrens' socialization is the lack of authority concentration. They are accustomed to being raised by many people (cousins, siblings, grandparents, aunts, uncles). Also, Indian children are infrequently disciplined as individuals but more often disciplined as a group. When children become noisy or destructive, an older person would not seek to establish individual blame, but hold the entire group accountable. Indian children are provided with skills toward cooperative activity (Philips, p. 66).

Self-control is supported by "giving advice," but no punitive action is taken if the advice is not followed. Individuals who are angry or sad and withdrawn from social interaction are to be left alone until they come out of it voluntarily. The parental focus is on allowing the children to learn for themselves. Physical punishment is rare and authority is distributed among many people. Individual autonomy and collective group responsibility are fostered in a way that encourages control over oneself but not control over others (Philips, 1983, pp. 65-68).

Patterns of socialization as described here affect Indian children's behavior and perceptions in non-Indian schools. Indian students in first and sixth grades (as studied by Philips) talk less than Anglo students in official classroom interaction controlled by the teacher, and they respond to the teacher less than Anglos. Failure to respond is usually interpreted as noncomprehension. Other erroneous assumptions are made based on the Indian students' "inappropriate" responses. Philips said that the teacher often does not comprehend the Indians' efforts to communicate to her any better than the Indians understand the teacher (p.100).

Indian children convey attention in culturally distinctive ways. They may not look (gaze) at the teacher as much as non-Indians; Indian children may not nod in agreement much; they contribute fewer expressions of enthusiasm and hand clapping when the teacher announces a field trip, etc. This is in keeping with the Indian value of maintaining control and showing little emotion or verbal excitation. Indian students are unaccustomed to the domination and control of a single individual and are inclined to divide their attention more equally among all in attendance (p.101).

Teasing is reported to be more prevalent among Native American societies than in mainstream American societies. Indians may engage in freer moving about that violates many classroom norms of orderliness and often hide other childrens' things in order to tease them. Indian children have a more limited concept of individual territory and individual ownership than Anglo children (Philips, 1975).

Indian communities emphasize physical control that includes alternating between active control (expressed in dancing, athletics) and passive control (ability to sit still in necessary circumstances). Both verbosity and out-of-control physical excitation suggest lack of control in Indian socialization. However, in mainstream classroom, verbal excitation is encouraged and physical excitation is discouraged (Philips, 1983, P.103-105).

Because Indian children are not oriented toward a single adult authority (having been raised by many adults and older children), they do not compete with one another for parental or teacher attention. They are more self-sufficient at younger ages and more inclined to cooperate with siblings, peers, etc., to gain group satisfaction. Indian children are strongly discouraged from self-aggrandizement and from acting as though one is better than another. Therefore, efforts to get the teachers' attention, or even play teacher or to claim knowing more than their peers is unseemly

behavior by Indian standards. Indian children are less likely to talk out of turn, interrupt less and even do not attempt to speak—they are very uncomfortable drawing attention to themselves. It is no wonder that Indian students withdraw from classroom interaction because it requires that they behave in ways incompatible with Indian values and socially acceptable norms (Philips, pp.117-118).

One activity that many Anglo children may initially be shy about is Show and Tell. However, it soon becomes a popular sharing time. But the Indian students in Philips' study were so adverse to assuming the teacher leadership role that the activity had to be dropped. At the sixth grade level, a variation of the same format was tried (e.g., individual book reports, sharing a newspaper article, etc.) but the Indian students adamantly refused to do it and it likewise was dropped (Warm Springs Reservation, Philips, pp.119-120). These are frequently used techniques in the urban, public schools.

Small groups with the teacher involved also meet with little enthusiasm on the part of Indians. But in small group projects without the teacher, Indian students responded very differently. In this arrangement, Indian children shared suggestions, chose to support or ignore them and got on with the task at hand. They seemed to carry out the activity with enthusiasm, without feeling the necessity to elect leaders, and even encouraged competition between groups. On the other hand, Anglo children did elect leaders and often needed teachers' intervention to settle disputes over the maintenance of authority by the elected leader and how to accomplish the task. On the playground, Indian children tend to demonstrate a strong preference for team games and a reluctance to participate in activities that require one person to control another such as Follow the Leader (Philips, pp. 9-122).

Anglo children often have more difficulty interacting with more than three or four children. However, they resolve that by electing leaders, or

by recognizing a leader, which prepares them for the hierarchically organized vocations. There is continuity and consistency between home and school for the Anglo child for the most part. But for the Indian child they experience conflict between their socializing experiences and classroom socializing (Philips, p.125).

Cross Cultural Misinterpretation

McDermott (1974) suggested that where teacher and student have different communicative codes the student "...shuts down the attention skills." If the teacher judges a student to be "shut down" and tries elevating her voice volume, that most likely would not be interpreted as threatening to the Indian child as such tactics are not part of their socialization. Nor would the teacher's "staring down" (as is common practice by Anglo teachers to get someone's attention) be effective, as Indian children are accustomed to receiving individual discipline privately—outside the range of others. I might add here that cross-cultural misinterpretation frequently produces confusion and consequent behavior that is considered inappropriate in both cultures (pp.106-108).

Value Conflict

American culture roots part of its heritage in Greek and Roman ideals. However, discrepancies between the classic Greek and Roman version of education and American educational ideals seem wide ranging. The Greek basis of education was the transmission of the "general" values which governed life. They were the first to conceive the world as being comprised of individual elements of a living whole. The principle of "humanism," not individualism, dominated there. The ancient Greeks and Romans believed it was not enough to develop the intelligence of a student, but rather to achieve a balance between "aretè, technè, scientia, and sapientia." American culture long ago advanced technè (technique, art, craft, skill) and scientia (science, knowledge of reproducible data); we have

evolved into a techne/scientia dominated society—and they dictate our educational edicts. Arete (the driving spirit that brings quality to an individual's life, especially when operating in the public good; living in harmony with the universe) is long lost, conceptually and linguistically, and sapientia (wisdom, seldom reproducible in an exact form) is undeniably neglected and hardly considered an American ideal (Jaeger, 1945).

Deloria (1969) illuminated one of the foremost differences that separate whites from Indians—their origin. White origin is predominately Western European; whites share common experiences, world views, religions and languages which had dominated Europe for over a millenium. Indians' lives and world views were not extracted from a post-Roman/Greek empire. Deloria states that educators in this country have inherited the ideals that an individual will be a useful member of society if one has sufficient data concerning the world and if one maintains purity of heart toward subject matter (e.g., Christianity). Western science has inherited the Greek predilection to classify and categorize facts into systematic fields of knowledge. Incorporated within this tendency is the "idea that by knowing all of the facts of existence, an individual can achieve all the wisdom necessary to understand himself and his society" (p.11). American educational theory lacks moral and ethical content. There is little concern with relationships, only with the facts; the basic belief is that education should provide sufficient tools or information and skills that enable individuals to climb the ladder of social, economic, and political success without regard to the means used to achieve those ends (Deloria, 1978).

The European background is one of feudalism, kings, queens, divine right to rule, and Christianity. The Apache had no experience with the rise of capitalism or industrialism. The Blackfeet had no monasteries. No tribe has a political, historical or emotional relationship to another

country other than this one. "Land where our fathers died, land of the Pilgrims pride..." contains an entirely different meaning for the Native American and the European immigrant.

A White Earth Chippewa woman summarized American values this way:

> Individualism—One must achieve for himself, reach the pinnacle by Horatio Alger tactics.
>
> Mercantilism—One must sell 'things' with little concern for diminishing national resources and the have-nots.
>
> Acquisitiveness—Work until you are 65 amassing these 'things' that have desirable brand names and amass more and better 'things' than your neighbor.
>
> (Locke, 1978)

Forty years ago Robert Maynard Hutchins (1946) wrote extensively about materialism and its consequences. He said that materialism had captured our culture, our state and our education. He said that the test of being educated in the dominant society is whether the graduate succeeds in life—which is usually associated with income. He said that knowledge necessary for the production of material necessities and luxuries has long dominated our society. Knowledge of the arts, language, philosophy, history, etc., receives lesser attention. Hutchins thought this general materialistic mentality had triumphed over our morals and that our education was directed toward consuming and producing. He suggested that instead of asking what is wrong with education, one should ask what is wrong with our country. He pointed out that our educational system had adapted to the needs and values of the country and our society, both then and now. Education reflects what is honored in our country.

Since one's worth, by Indian criteria, is measured by one's willingness to share, the accumulation of material goods and social status is

alien. An extension of sharing is willingness to help others. Therefore, Native Americans naturally have a priority system that is radically different from mainstream society. Those priorities, in conjuction with an internal clock that ties more with natural phenomena (days, mornings, months, years and seasons) results in the Indians' version of time and punctuality varying greatly. The Native American is enculturated to control emotions; the emphasis is on poise and self-containment. The belief is held that every individual, every plant, animal and earth element has a purpose and no one should interfere or hinder the pursuit of that entity's purpose or essence. Patience - the individual who stays back and lets someone else go first - is often misinterpreted as laziness or weakness in our competitive, aggressive society.

To a significant degree, educational goals have been fashioned to conform to the competitive achievement orientation of the American middle-class and to the attainment of material wealth. Although Indian students often desire the material things of life, the means to this end remains vague in their minds, and the delayed and obscure rewards of education are not associated with a high level of academic achievement. Scholastic competition has never been instilled as a value in many Indian households (Olsen, 1971).

As stated in Kluckhohn's theory and confirmed by the Milwaukee study, there is preferential variability from culture to culture. Understanding these variances is critical to assessing the cross-cultural dilemma facing the urban Indian in mainstream society. According to an adapted version of Kluckhohn's Rank Ordering of Value Orientations (See Table II and III, pg.14) there are clearly no points of mergence.

Recommendations

The critical element in the education of Native Americans is striking the balance between academics and culture, both the Indian culture and the

dominant middle-class culture. The school's value orientation must present ethics and principles with which Indian students can identify and that are consistent with the Indian community's values and beliefs. Without alienating themselves or compromising their cultural identity, Indian students must acquire skills necessary for successful functioning in the American urban, middle-class society. The following are recommendations for educators who interact with Native American children:

1. School counselors can take into consideration biographic information obtained from Indians. An individual who is acquainted with Indian cultures could then identify, based on such information, those students who appear destined to drop out or who may become increasingly marginal achievers. These individuals could be targeted for dropout intervention programs. When possible, these dropout intervention programs should be staffed by Native American counselors since they would have a similar cultural background as the Indian students, e.g., live in the same neighborhood, share similar values, interact socially with the Indian community. It is critical that counselors of Indian children immediately come to know Indian cultures, community, and parents.

2. Cooperation could be utilized as an alternative to the current overuse of competition. Some useful possible alternatives are: freer movement and talking between Indian students, student grouping, less dependence upon the teacher for ideas and solutions, shared materials, clustering of chairs and tables without ownership attached or implied, more individualized instruction by the teacher and by other students. Other Indian cultural values could be incorporated into the curriculum to provide for a greater continuity between the child's culture and that of the school. Increasing, in this way, the child's sense of identity and self-esteem, provides a positive experience for the child, thus facilitating the acculturation process,

and, in this way, increasing the probability of retaining the child in school.

3. There also exists a critical need for cultural and social outlets for Indian students. If these could not be incorporated within the existing school curriculum, they need to be provided as extracurricular activities. Programs could include Indian languages, Indian art, dance, Indian history, and other courses that would allow the Indian students a broader range of cultural expression.

4. There are culturally distinctive aspects of the Native American society which make it difficult at best for teachers to effectively deal with Native American students without specialized training. Workshops should be arranged that would educate current teachers of Indian students and incentives could be offered to motivate them to increase their professional skills in the areas of Indian instruction. Students currently enrolled in teacher training colleges should be required to complete specific courses that address the education of Native Americans.

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